

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 SAA-01 SSM-03 ISO-00 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-10

EUR-12 NEA-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00

ICAE-00 INRE-00 HA-05 MCT-02 AID-05 EB-08 OMB-01

TRSE-00 /129 W

-----018834 291853Z /42

O P 291530Z JUL 78

FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7410

INFO NAM COLLECTIVE PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

USMISSION USNATO

USDOCOSOUTH FOR INTAF

USCINCEUR POLAD

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 5558

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG

SUBJ: BELGRADE NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE: DRAFT LANGUAGE ON  
MIDDLE EAST PREPARED BY ARAB CAUCUS

REF: BELGRADE 5490

1. SUMMARY: AGREED DRAFT LANGUAGE PROPOSED BY ARAB CAUCUS  
AT NAM MINISTERIAL IS IN MANY RESPECTS THE HARSHTEST NAM  
LANGUAGE YET, CRITICISING THE U.S. BY NAME NO LESS THAN SEVEN  
TIMES FOR ITS SUPPORT OF ISRAEL AND RECONFIRMING THE LINKAGE  
OF ZIONISM WITH RACISM. THERE IS NO DIRECT CRITICISM OF THE  
SADAT INITIATIVE, BUT, AS IN HAVANA, THERE IS SUBSTANTIAL  
INDIRECT CRITICISM OF ATTEMPTS TO REACH PARTIAL SETTLEMENTS  
OR OF THOSE GIVING LESS THAN WHOLEHEARTED SUPPORT TO THE  
PALESTINIAN CAUSE. DRAFT CALLS FOR A SPECIAL SESSION OF THE  
UNITED NATIONS TO DISCUSS THE PALESTINE QUESTION. NOW ADOPTED  
BY THE FULL POLITICAL COMMITTEE, DRAFT THEN GOES TO THE  
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MINISTERIAL PLENARY, WHERE IT IS LIKELY TO REMAIN INTACT.  
END SUMMARY.

2. WE HAVE OBTAINED A COPY OF DRAFT LANGUAGE PROPOSED BY THE  
ARAB CAUCUS FOR INCLUSION IN THE POLITICAL DECLARATION OF THE  
NAM MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE. LANGUAGE WAS ADOPTED BY THE  
CONFERENCE'S POLITICAL COMMITTEE LATE JULY 28. IT NOW GOES

TO THE MINISTERIAL PLENARY, WHERE IT IS LIKELY TO BE ACCEPTED AS IT STANDS. EXCERPTS ARE GIVEN BELOW. THE FULL TEXT WILL BE PROVIDED LATER TO DEPARTMENT.

3. THE UNITED STATES IS MENTIONED CRITICALLY BY NAME SEVEN TIMES: (A) "ATTEMPTS BY THE UNITED STATES TO LIQUIDATE THE PALESTINIAN CAUSE," (B) "THE UNITED STATES' CONTINUED HOSTILE POSITION TOWARDS THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE'S RIGHTS.... IS CONTRARY TO UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTIONS... AND CONSTITUTES AN OBSTACLE TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A JUST PLEACE IN THE REGION." (C) "THE MINISTERS CONDEMNED THE POLICIES WHICH THE UNITED STATES SEEKS TO IMPOSE ON THE REGION AT THE EXPENSE OF THE NATIONAL AND INALIENABLE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE AND THE LIBERATION OF ALL THE OCCUPIED PLAESTINIAN AND ARAB TERRITORIES." (D) "TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND MILITARY SUPPORT EXTENDED TO ISRAEL BY THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER STATES, THE ISSUE CALLS FOR DEEP CONCERN." (E) THE FOREIGN MINISTERS "CALL ON ALL COUNTRIES AND IN PARTICULAR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, TO COOPERATE COMPLETELY IN UNDERTAKING EFFECTIVE MEASURES, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE SEVENTH CHAPTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER." (F) "DENOUNCED ALL POLICIES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICAN THAT AIM AT IGNORING THE LEGITIMATE, NATIONAL AND INALIENABLE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE, THE NON-RECOGNITION OF THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION, AS BEING THE SOLE LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PALESTINIAN

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PEOPLE, AND IMPOSING PARTIAL OR BILATERAL SOLUTIONS." (G) "THE ATTEMPTS AND ENDEAVORS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO LIQUIDATE THE PALESTINE ISSUE AND ITS ASSISTANCE TO ISRAEL IN REALIZING ITS EXPANSIONIST IMPERIALISTIC AND RACIST POLICY IN OCCUPIED PALESTINE, THROUGH ENCOURAGEMENT OF BILATERAL OR PARTIAL SOLUTIONS, WILL NOT LEAD TO A JUST SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM. THEREFORE, THE CONFERENCE CONDEMNED SUCH POLICIES, ATTEMPTS AND ENDEAVOURS AND CALLED FOR RESISTING THEM."

4. THE UNITED STATES ALSO RECEIVED INDIRECT CRITICISM FOR "STATEMENTS ISSUED BY COLONIALIST AND IMPERIALIST CIRCLES WHICH THREATEN THE RESORT TO FORCE AGAINST OIL-PRODUCING COUNTRIES, PARTICULARLY THOSE LYING IN THE ARAB REGION. (MINISTERS) ALSO CONDEMN ANY PREPARATIONS MADE TO IMPLEMENT SUCH THREATS."

5. ZIONISM IS ONCE AGAIN EQUATED WITH RACISM. "THE MINISTERS RECALLED THAT THE COLOMBO CONFERENCE REAFFIRMED THAT ZIONISM REPRESENTS A FORM OF RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, AND IT APPEALED TO THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES TO BEAR THIS FACT IN MIND AT ITS MEETING IN THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR CONDEMNING RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION TO BE CONVENED IN GENEVA

IN AUGUST 1978."

6. THE DRAFT CONDEMNS ISRAEL'S "POLICY OF AGGRESSION, OCCUPATION AND EXPANSION," ITS "COLONIALIST POLICY," "CONTINUED VIOLATION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE ARAB INHABITANTS OF ALL THE PALESTINIAN AND ARAB TERRITORIES IT OCCUPIES," "ADOPTING A POLICY OF ILLEGAL PLUNDER AND EXPLOITATION OF THE ARAB INHABITANTS," VIOLATION OF THE HAGUE AND GENEVA AGREEMENTS BY THE "EXPLOITATION OF THE NATURAL WEALTH AND RESOURCES OF PALESTINE AND OTHER OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES," AND SEEKING TO "CHANGE THE NATURAL, POLITICAL, CULTURAL, RELIGIOUS AND DEMOGRAPHIC CONDITIONS IN THESE TERRITORIES."

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7. ON THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE, THE DRAFT SLIGHTLY REWRITES THE LANGUAGE OF HAVANA IN THAT "THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE IS THE CORE OF THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM AND THE SOLUTION OF ONE PROBLEM WITHOUT THE OTHER WAS NOT POSSIBLE." DRAFT STATES THAT ANY SOLUTION MUST INCLUDE ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM ALL OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND FULL RECOGNITION OF PALESTINIAN RIGHTS. ANY SOLUTION "WHICH DOES NOT TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THESE TWO BASIC CONDITIONS CANNOT SERVE PEACE." MOREOVER, "ANY ATTEMPT AT WEAKENING THE STRUGGLE TO APPLY THE ABOVE-MENTIONED PRINCIPLES IS A DEVIATION" AND THE ARAB STATES AND PLO HAVE THE RIGHT "TO FOIL WITH ALL POSSIBLE MEANS ANY SOLUTIONS OR

SETTLEMENTS LAID DOWN AT THE EXPENSE OF THE...PALESTINIAN PEOPLE..."

8. NO DIRECT CRITICISM OF THE SADAT INITIATIVE APPEARS IN THE TEXT. THE DRAFT STRESSES THE NECESSITY OF "UNDERTAKING NECESSARY MEASURES FOR ACCEPTING THE REPRESENTATION OF THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION IN THE CAPITALS OF THE NON-CONFIDENTIAL

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ALIGNED COUNTRIES, AS THE SOLE LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE, AND GRANTING IT ALL RIGHTS, PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES OF DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS." THE ARABS DEMAND A SPECIAL SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO DISCUSS PALESTINE, AND NOVEMBER 29 IS SET ASIDE AS AN INTERNATIONAL DAY OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE BEGINNING THIS YEAR.

9. COMMENT: ASSUMING IT STANDS, THIS IS THE HARSHTEST, MOST UNCOMPROMISING NAM LANGUAGE ON THE MIDDLE EAST AND PALESTINE SINCE AT LEAST BEFORE COLOMBO. THE U.S. IS CRITICIZED SEPARATELY AND OFTEN, ZIONISM IS EQUATED WITH RACISM, PRESENT EFFORTS TOWARD PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST ARE CONDEMNED, AND THE PLO IS CONFIRMED AS THE SOLE AND LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE. ALL THIS HAS NAM PRECEDENT--MOST RECENTLY AT HAVANA--BUT THE PRESENT DRAFT INCREASES THE STRESS ON THESE ITEMS. MOREOVER, THE DRAFT REPRESENTS AN EVEN MORE UNCOMPROMISING NAM VIEWPOINT ON THE OUTLINES OF AN ACCEPTABLE MIDDLE EAST PEACE AND ON THE ROLE OF THE PALESTINIANS THAN EVER BEFORE. AT HAVANA, THE EGYPTIANS ALLEGEDLY ACQUIESCED IN THE TOUGH LANGUAGE ON THE US AND TO THE Z/R LINK, AS A TRADE-OFF TO AVOID DIRECT CRITICISM OF SADAT IN A FORUM (THE NAME'S COORDINATING BUREAU) WHERE THEY WERE BADLY OUTGUNNED. AT BELGRADE, HOWEVER, THE EGYPTIANS HAD ALLIES FOR A MORE MODERATE TEXT, INCLUDING THE SAUDIS, WHO WERE NOT AT HAVANA--BUT APPARENTLY TO NO AVAIL.

10. MIDDLE EAST POLITICAL DYNAMICS (WHICH OTHERS CAN BETTER JUDGE) PRESUMABLY WERE A STRONG FACTOR IN THIS UNEXPECTED RESULT. REGARDING NAM-ORIENTED FACTORS, WE WOULD NOTE (A) STRONG PRESSURE (BY YUGOSLAVS AND OTHERS WHO SEE ISSUE OF PHILOSOPHY AND DIRECTION OF THE MOVEMENT AS THE CURRENT NAM ISSUE OF OVERRIDING CONCERN) ON THE ARABS TO ACHIEVE A COMPROMISE AMONG THEMSELVES RATHER THAN FIGHT IT OUT (AS AT CONFIDENTIAL

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HAVANA); (B) CONTINUING EGYPTIAN PRIORITY GIVEN TO AVOIDING DIRECT CRITICISM OF SADAT (AT ALL COSTS, IT WOULD APPEAR);

(C) AS EGYPTIAN MFA OFFICIAL OUSSE explained it: THE GROWING,  
UNIVERSAL FRUSTRATION WITHIN THE NAM OVER "ISRAELI INTRANSIGENCE";  
(D) THE NAM DISPOSITION NOT UNDULY TO QUESTION THE JUDGMENTS  
OF ITS REGIONAL GROUPS--ESPECIALLY WHEN A BADLY DIVIDED ONE  
HAS AT LEAST ACHIEVED A COMMON POSITION; (E) THE RELUCTANCE OF  
ANY NAM STATE TO TAKE A CONSPICUOUS POSITION WHICH WOULD  
IMMEDIATELY BE ATTACKED AS "SUPPORT FOR ZIONISTS, ETC."

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## Message Attributes

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**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
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